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nothing against the society of New England, or against the salient fact that the majority of the people of Massachusetts of all classes, like the people of Virginia, were virtuous, independent, and respectable.

In conclusion, I heartily recommend Mr. Ballagh's paper to all who are interested in the true history of our institutions. It is a model paper, because Mr. Ballagh has only sought to state the truth. It is an able paper, because he has very nearly stated the whole truth.

Lyon G. Tyler.

The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution, with Some Account of the Attitude of France toward the War of Independence. By Charlemagne Tower, Jr., LL.D. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1895. Two vols., pp. xi, 494, 537.)

To thousands who possess little acquaintance with the history of the French alliance, the name of La Fayette recalls one of the most familiar and romantic episodes of the war of the American Revolution. Yet Mr. Tower is quite right in saying that "France would have participated in the American Revolution if La Fayette had never existed." His conjecture that La Fayette would probably "have come to America if France had never declared war in our favor," is more open to doubt. The decision of France to espouse the cause of the colonists was in no respect determined by the course of La Fayette. But, though he came to America long before France decided to declare war, his coming is, to a certain extent, to be ascribed to the same causes that led France to take that step. He did not abandon his character as a Frenchman, and he remained a Frenchman to the end.

Nevertheless, the narrative presented in these volumes justifies the popular appreciation of La Fayette's character and motives, and of the value, if not of the precise nature, of his services. From the general mass of foreigners who sought employment in the American army, La Fayette is distinguished by the extent of what he gave, and the smallness of what he demanded. He was not devoid of ambition. Like a true Frenchman, he loved glory, and, as Jefferson said, he had a strong appetite for applause. But, while no mercenary motive entered into his conduct, he was also less governed than were most of his countrymen by the spirit of revenge. Though he was loyal to his king, he was sincerely attached to the principles of liberty. "What delights me most," he writes, immediately after his arrival in America, "is, that all the citizens are brothers." He expatiates upon the "simplicity of manners," the "love of country and of liberty," and the "pleasing equality," which he found among the people.

La Fayette came to America with the idea of helping to found a new state upon the principles of a liberal political and social philosophy. Yet, in estimating his conduct in disregarding the injunction of his king, and the opposition of his family, we must not lose sight of the fact that he was sensible of and fully shared the general feelings of the French nation towards England. Mr. Tower is justified in saying that Kapp's statement is not historically correct, when the latter declares that what was true of Kalb was equally true of La Fayette, since they travelled together, and that, because the French government connived at the "escape" of Kalb, it must also have connived at the escape of La Fayette. The positions of the two men, and their relations to the French government, were very different; and the course of La Fayette occasioned embarrassments which nothing in the case of Kalb could have produced. But, on the other hand, it is easy to invest with too much importance the opposition of the French government to La Favette's departure. So far as opposition was manifested, it was dictated, as Mr. Tower says, wholly by motives of policy. This fact La Fayette must have understood, and he could scarcely have imagined that he would incur by his conduct the permanent displeasure of the king, much less of the government. The injunctions of the government were constantly disregarded by those against whom they were uttered. Indeed, at the moment when the government was issuing "secret" instructions to its official agents to prevent the shipment of arms and munitions of war to America, it was furnishing such arms and munitions from its own arsenals for that purpose, and was secretly advising the American commissioners that the instructions might be evaded; and, after the departure of La Fayette, when there was every motive for preserving appearances, it virtually connived at the use by American privateers of French ports as a base of operations against British commerce, in flagrant violation of the treaties with England, the provisions of which, as Vergennes assured the American commissioners, the principles of the king required him scrupulously to observe.

But, however much La Fayette may have shared the general feelings of his countrymen towards England, his conduct from the moment of his first arrival in America exhibits a loftiness of purpose and a heartiness of endeavor which nothing but thorough sympathy with the motives of the struggle for independence could have produced. It was because of this sympathy, and of his immediate and thorough conformity to the conditions in which he found himself, that he was able, when the alliance between the United States and France was effected, to play the part of an intermediary between the two governments and their armed forces. the discharge of this delicate and difficult function, even more than in his military services, lay the value of La Fayette's aid to the American The alliance was, in many respects, an unnatural one. government could have had less sympathy than that of France with the principles of the American Declaration of Independence. On the other hand, the English colonists in America shared, to the full extent, the national antipathy to the French, and they had, as British subjects, borne a conspicuously successful part in bringing about the conditions which France had found to be insupportable. Under these circumstances, there was often an urgent demand for the healing and persuasive influences of

those whose sympathies and experience were broad enough to enable them to play a mediatorial part.

It was, doubtless, with a view to exhibit this aspect of the matter that the author of the present work has devoted so much of his narrative to an account of the attitude of France towards the War of Independence. Whilst it will never be possible to supplant the magnificent work of Doniol as a history of the participation of France in the establishment of the independence of the United States, Mr. Tower has written a full and clear narrative of the alliance which will be read by many who would be daunted by Doniol's massive tomes, and which may also serve as an aid to those who desire to examine them. Sometimes, indeed, we seem almost to lose sight of La Fayette in the abundance of historical details. But this is a matter of proportion on which it is unnecessary to place great emphasis, since it has not resulted in any neglect of facts which are strictly relevant to the author's principal subject.

Mr. Tower properly assigns an important place to La Fayette's visit to France after his first period of service in America. The failure of the expedition of d'Estaing, and the consequent disappointment felt in both countries over the first-fruits of the alliance, called for the employment of good offices, which no one was so well fitted as La Fayette to afford. In this emergency Congress exhibited its sense of La Fayette's value not only by expressing appreciation of what he had already done, but also by investing him with extensive representative functions. America at this time stood in sore need of assistance, and it was within the power of La Fayette materially to contribute to obtaining it. When "he turned his face once more toward America," a new expedition "was assured, and the measures for its equipment were systematically undertaken"; and in securing the adoption of this measure La Fayette exerted an important, if not a decisive, influence.

Nor should we omit to notice the picture presented of La Fayette's relations to Washington — relations which were characterized on the part of the latter by a paternal confidence, and on the part of La Fayette by an unvarying loyalty. Indeed, they well illustrate La Fayette's constant attitude toward the American cause, from his first presentation to Congress to the surrender at Yorktown.

On the whole it may be said that Mr. Tower has produced a work which forms a worthy memorial of the interesting subject to which it relates.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777–1783. A translation by Thomas Willing Balch, of Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, par Thomas Balch. (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates. 1891, 1895. Two vols., pp. xv, 243,